

July 25

the

Commonweal

EDWARD S. SKILLIN

**NEW HOPE
FOR
KOREA**

SAMUEL J. T. MILLER

**THE
TREND
TOWARD
IRENICS**

JACOB K. JAVITS

FRANCIS J. BURKLEY

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"Measuring Up" to a Saint

In France and England during the Middle Ages it was the custom of wealthy parishioners to donate candles tall as themselves for use on shrine altars.

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THE Commonweal

week by week

THE GENERAL'S "CRUSADE"

THE nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower by the Republicans has inspired many of the nation's political analysts with a common theme: the General's victory in Chicago, they say, marks the final defeat of Old Guard Republicanism and the long-awaited emergence of a forward-looking, vigorous, and imaginative opposition party in the United States. This emergence, they continue, constitutes a great hope for America. It offers the voters a reasonable alternative to the long-entrenched Democratic administration and thus vindicates the vitality of the two-party system.

The personality and meaning of General Eisenhower bolsters this confidence. There is no question of the high sense of mission which motivates his aspirations. There is no doubt of his good will, integrity, and aloofness from the baser aspects of partisan strife. In him the Republican party has indeed named a standard bearer who lends it a real dignity, and the whole nation, regardless of political affiliation, must congratulate it in its choice.

Confident in this revitalization of the Republican party, many newspapers are certain that the voters will accept this reborn GOP as a welcome alternative to the Democratic party in November. They are already writing in a vein which suggests that the campaign is over before it has really begun. The independent New York *Times*, for example, tells its readers that the problem facing the voters now, regardless of their political affiliation, is to unite behind the General and prove themselves "worthy" of him. "Whatever his splendid qualities and attributes," the paper says, "he can achieve true greatness only if we bestow it on him."

The question arises of whether or not this rhapsodic enthusiasm is in any sense premature. Granted the General's tremendous charm and genuine qualities, do these in themselves constitute an *a priori* qualification for the Presidency? And, if they do, can the assumption then be safely made that they have indeed transformed the party of which he is a candidate from a force long dedicated to obstruction and reaction into a movement wholly committed to imaginative action, and progress? Has the

Republican Party, in the act of nominating General Eisenhower, experienced a political Pentecost, and will its voice now be heard in tongues different from the dreary maledictions with which it has so long assailed the national ear?

Although such a transformation is much to be wished, we must not mistake a wish for a reality. But such a mistake is exactly what many seem to be making. Their eagerness for a man of great national stature to head a renascent opposition party is leading them to postulate such a leader and such a party greatly in excess of the evidence yet at hand. This evidence, unfortunately, gives no certain assurance of such an alternative. It remains a possibility (greatly strengthened, admittedly, by General Eisenhower's nomination) and a hope. The realization of this possibility and this hope depends on what stands are taken during the next few months.

IF manifest sincerity, a sense of dedication, and good will were all that is needed for the making of great Presidential material, then Dwight Eisenhower should be assured of election in November. And if the power of a great personality were enough to effect some magic transformation in the political party which it leads, then the revitalization of the Republican party could now be safely celebrated. But reality is more exasperatingly complex than this.

For in spite of his personal qualities, General Eisenhower has yet to demonstrate any real grasp of concrete issues. And in spite of the enthusiasm for its new candidate, the Republican party has yet to give evidence of its wholehearted conversion to a responsible concept of social progress and international cooperation. Its cheers for Eisenhower follow too closely upon its demonstrations for General MacArthur, Herbert Hoover, and Senator McCarthy to ring completely true. A "crusade" for unity, integrity, and progress sounds slightly ironic after much of what preceded it in Chicago.

And so, many independent voters will wish to wait a little longer before enrolling themselves in the General's crusade. They will want to know more

precisely where it is leading. They will want to know, for example, how free the new Commander will be to repudiate the older stratagems of his Republican army, and what forces a victory for this crusade will bring to power in America. For many it will not be enough to trust the General. They must be able to trust his subordinates as well. A victory which insured the power of Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Dirksen, and Taft is a victory of which the majority of independent voters will want no part.

General Eisenhower now has the opportunity to raise the Republican party to a new level of responsibility. The Democrats must answer this challenge by waging their campaign on the most statesman-like plane. But the battle has yet to be fought. It is too early for irrevocable commitments to an unknown quantity. Those "independent" voices which have already hailed the birth of a new GOP may yet find themselves embarrassed by the uncritical presumptions of their haste.

SHADES OF '36

WHEN a couple of weight-lifters from the Volga get together with some hammer-throwers from, say, California, the hope is that good fellow-feeling will result. That was apparently the original theory, for the ancient Greek city-states forgot their enmities for a time and allowed unimpeded access across all borders to the first Olympic games. The idea is still being pushed at Helsinki as newsphotos of grinning competitors with USA and CCCP (USSR) on their sweatshirts begin to appear in our metropolitan dailies.

Perhaps the fact that modern sport has developed so much as a mass spectacle puts a different com-

plexion on things. In our urbanized, industrial society the men and women who flock to our stadia are for the most part straight spectators rather than active participants as far as any outdoor sports are concerned; their physical exertions consist in opening to the sports pages of the paper or twisting the dial to a favorite sports announcer. Whether bodily indolence has much to do with it or not, crowds of sport fans tend to be partisan in the most passionate fashion. Their ire—as well as their enthusiasm—is quickly kindled. When national pride is an added ingredient, as it is in most international sporting events, bad feeling often results.

Dispatches from Helsinki point up some of the dangers in the current Olympics. With four hundred contestants apiece, the United States and the USSR are the principal contestants for the crown. Although the Soviet Union has made the gesture of competing in the Olympics for the first time, Russia has chosen to quarter her own athletes, and the contestants from her five European satellites, apart. Eight miles of rough dirt road separates the Soviet headquarters of Otaniemi, and its thousand Iron Curtain competitors, from the Olympic Village where the other participants are quartered. Barbed wire surrounds the Soviet dormitories in a remote forest clearing. Only the fact that visiting is permitted to accredited free-world contestants and newsmen keeps the presence of the USSR contingent at Helsinki from being unrelievedly grim.

American correspondents are, however, of the opinion that word has gone out for the Russian athletes to be their natural friendly selves, at least until the first starting signal. Finland this summer is presenting one of those rare opportunities for individual Russians, Czechs and others to mingle with their less shackled fellow-men. Language barriers make it doubtful whether this will result in many exchanges of ideas. But when a land is hermetically sealed, even a breath of fresh air from outside can work wonders.

One of the hopes that the Helsinki games will produce no serious international incidents rests on form. In track and field, swimming and many other events, the winners are clearly forecast by recent performances. (Of course there are always a few stout-hearted surprises.) What little is known of the Russian athletes seems to indicate that it is primarily in women's track and field that they will have a big chance for the championship. That should confine the occasion for incidents materially, as we Americans do not set as much store by our Babe Didricksons as we do by our Hollywood starlets.

In the second place the present friendly attitude of the Russian and satellite competitors may continue throughout the games. (Word from Bonn is

NEXT WEEK

CHARLES MALIK discusses what America means to the other peoples of the world.

"The crying need is for a deeper, a more grounded and more responsible elaboration of the content of the free life. One must be honest with the enslaved peoples—whether enslaved politically or spiritually—in telling them that freedom is not the end but the beginning of a life of effort and development whose general character can nevertheless be traced in advance. Freedom is the immediate goal, but the distant lure is nothing short of the full realization of all that properly belongs to man."

that the present "Hate America" drive has met with little popular response inside Russia.) Finally, in the heat of competition, whatever disputes do arise may not be ideological at all, may not involve either the Soviet Union or the United States.

The question that lingers is whether other occasions for bringing individual Russians face to face with their fellow-men cannot be arranged which do not involve such risks.

AMERICAN COTTON

THE impression persists that when measures affecting cotton confront Congress or the Department of Agriculture, representatives of the Southeast, with its old plantations and new mechanical pickers, are primarily concerned. Possibly the fame of South Carolina's "Cotton Ed" Smith has something to do with it. And even news about the development of Georgia's cattle industry and other forms of agricultural diversification has been unable to efface the outmoded picture of America's southern cotton fields of song and story.

For several years, however, cotton has been moving west. The State of Texas alone accounts for nearly half of this country's cotton acreage. Last year California, where the yield per acre is higher than in the Lone Star State, found cotton to be its biggest money crop. Arizona, where the biggest proportional increase in production is reported, and Oklahoma are also important cotton states. As cotton moves west its cultivation becomes more efficient and less picturesque. It is produced on a new mechanical and grandiose pattern that is not susceptible of the sort of folklore long characteristic of the eastern Gulf states. It appears that only the extraordinary demand for that commodity now, for defense stockpiling, keeps growers east of the Mississippi producing cotton at anything like their former pace. The government guarantee of thirty-two cents per pound, while far from cotton's peak price, also has a lot to do with it.

BOTHERSOME DEAN

THE Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, has recently returned from a pilgrimage to Communist China; the pattern of his returns is by now familiar. He brings word of the happiness and progress he found in the Peoples' Democracy. For this unfaltering message he has earned the popular title of "The Red Dean." This time, however, he has added a new note. He has spoken in support of the Communist germ-warfare

charges against the United Nations in Korea, and so joined in accusations of barbarism leveled at the United States.

The Dean has, in the past, been granted a large measure of toleration in the United Kingdom, larger than he would be likely to find in the United States. The English have simply refused to take him seriously, and have marked him down as a curious, but generally harmless, eccentric. The Foreign Office has never considered it necessary to keep him at home, and the Church of England has survived his soft-minded propaganda. His present charges, however, seem to have disturbed the British to the extent that a move has been made in Parliament to request Queen Elizabeth II to remove him from his post as Dean of Her Majesty's major Cathedral.

The removal may never be effected. There seems to exist some doubt that the Queen has the power, under the British Constitution, to command it on the grounds offered. The "Red Dean" may thus continue in his office, and the dignity of that position may continue to lend undue weight to his political pronouncements.

Since he has never been taken very seriously in Britain or anywhere else in the Western World, the "evidence" he has offered for United Nations germ-warfare in Korea will continue to be adequately answered by the actions of the Communists themselves—as is indeed now the case. The Soviet veto of the resolution calling for a Red Cross investigation of these charges should be sufficient answer for anyone so gullible as to have been taken in by the Dean's latest piece of unashamed foolishness.

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

ONE of the latest predictions to come from labor's researchers is disquieting. Unless present trends change sharply, says the CIO's *Economic Outlook*, the country will see a recession in 1953 or 1954. At that time a leveling-off in defense spending and a decline in construction of new plants and equipment are expected. Unless this downward trend is accompanied by a corresponding increase in consumer purchasing power, say labor's experts, production and employment will necessarily fall off.

Economists themselves are always among the first to point out that economics is not an exact science and that the factors on which their predictions are based are themselves subject to change without notice. And it is not hard to see that economists in the employ of either labor or business can easily, and quite unintentionally, lose some of their objectivity when it comes to interpreting controversial economic data. As a result, every report of this

kind must be greeted with a certain amount of skepticism.

But in this instance there is considerable supporting evidence from other quarters for this pessimistic prediction from the CIO. Although the matter is a long way from being cut-and-dried, certainly there is ample evidence to indicate that Congress could hardly have chosen a worse time to weaken the never-strong controls on inflation. And if the labor economists are correct in their present predictions, there is no doubt at all that the future holds man-sized headaches for the next President, whoever he may be.

BOMBS IN ONE BASKET

THE concept of air power is heady stuff, and its early enthusiasts were colorful trail-blazers. It is a strange paradox that today the strongest civilian exponents of air power conjure up images less of carefree derring-do than of caution in a celluloid collar. Somehow or other, advocacy of concentration on air power seems largely to have fallen into the hands of those who represent the most conservative approach to foreign policy and the employment of U.S. power.

Another odd thing is the fact that civilian air power enthusiasts claim for their favorite military arm more than professional airmen dare to do. There was a time when Air Force leaders dreamed that U.S. military might in the future could be largely built around the striking power of air attack. But recent developments, not the least of which has been Korea, have caused them to revise their ideas. They still want a strong Air Force, of course, but present military thinking revolves around a balance of the various arms, with each playing its own indispensable part and no one of them dominating.

Between the Air Force itself and its civilian enthusiasts, however, a time lag seems to operate. As fliers grow more cautious in their claims, the civilian advocates of air power increase their enthusiasm. For most of these it seems clear that their enthusiasm derives less from detailed study of the possibilities of air power than from a profound distaste for what they consider foreign entanglements. If ground forces are employed, they have to be on the spot. But in the case of air strength, lay enthusiasts apparently think in terms of U.S.-based long-range bombers which would, in their estimation, have the advantage of keeping U.S. troops at home.

Ex-President Herbert Hoover has lately come to be one of the leading civilian exponents of concentration on air power. Mr. Hoover has long advocated withdrawal from foreign commitments in

favor of building the U.S. into what he terms a Gibraltar of freedom. In line with this basic orientation to foreign affairs, Mr. Hoover recently urged that the U.S. concentrate on air power, rather than continue to spend money on ground forces and military aid to our allies. Once this shift in emphasis has been accomplished, Mr. Hoover urges the nation to substitute for present policy "the deadly reprisal strategy of the rattlesnake."

This plan Mr. Hoover seems to visualize as a dynamic one, designed to seize the offensive in the struggle with Russia. But aside from the term itself, one of the major flaws in the rattlesnake strategy is that it is in fact almost purely defensive, limited as it is to the use of reprisal after an attack.

Adoption by the United States of such strategy would certainly not strengthen the will to resist among the nations of Europe or Asia, nor would it win for us new allies. If the Russian armies invade, we say to our friends, don't worry; U.S. bombers will come over and atomize them. Among people with an understandable reluctance to share such a fate with the enemy, the prospect is hardly one to inspire enthusiasm.

In their anxiety to get United States troops out of Europe, the all-out advocates of air power consistently ignore both the demands and the limitations of such power. Despite their expectations, any serious effort to keep the peace by expanding U.S. air power would not result in withdrawing our forces to this country. If the U.S. was to have command of the air, air bases would have to be dispersed at strategic points around the world. These in turn would have to be protected from hostile ground action, and this necessity would again involve the use of land troops in force.

In any case, certain indispensable tasks cannot be done solely by air power, necessary as it is. Air power alone could never have saved Korea, for example, and unaided it would be powerless to save Indochina. Nor can the employment of air power prevent armed coups by Communist groups inside nations where the majority of the citizens are friendly to our cause; in the face of such dangers, however, the presence of our ground forces serves as an effective deterrent.

All in all, the present clamor for concentration on air power to the detriment of other services seems all too reminiscent of French thinking before Hitler. Even if this time the Maginot line is to be given wings, there is no reason to believe it would be anything but the dreadful failure it showed itself in the last war. Certainly history has demonstrated that in modern warfare purely defensive thinking is fatal. That we should seriously consider making the same mistake again seems incredible.

New Hope for Korea

THERE IS A PROSPECT OF ACTION BY MANY NATIONS
THE LIKE OF WHICH THE WORLD HAS NEVER SEEN

EDWARD S. SKILLIN

WHEN, two years ago, the decision was made to make a stand against Soviet aggression at the thirty-eighth parallel, the United States and the other nations of the free world had both the Soviet Union and the people of Korea in mind. For over a year now the United Nations forces above that parallel have maintained a stable defense line which protects more than twenty million Koreans.

To that extent the United States and the UN have achieved their primary objectives. But the cost to Korea has been appalling. More than a million civilians have been killed; another half million are missing; a million more have been wounded. In addition, over three hundred thousand casualties have been suffered by the Korean armed forces—three times our own severe losses. And the war goes on.

Three-quarters of the homes and other property in South Korea have been destroyed. Only a fifth of Seoul, the capital city of a million and a half peacetime inhabitants, remains standing. Yet into this ravaged and densely populated land two million refugees have fled from North Korea. At least an equal number has been forced to flee south from Seoul and the battle area. Unhappily, thus far, there is a factual basis for the recent statement of President Rajendra Prasad of India that despite the good intentions of the United Nations, war, hunger and pestilence have reduced Korea to a state of "utter ruin."

The UN authorities are deeply concerned over these tragic conditions. They have carried out and permitted a certain number of emergency relief activities. (Due to widespread administering of DDT and to other UN public health measures no major epidemics have broken out in South Korea in spite of crisis conditions). When a war is in progress, however, everything else gives way before the exigencies of battle. Transport required for relief shipments has to take second place to ordnance; civilian supplies have long to await their turn.

Yet the UN Civil Assistance Command (primarily the American Eighth Army) has rendered the destitute Korean people considerable material aid. It has also provided many useful facilities for private relief agencies. Distribution of food, clothing and medicines

has been relatively uncomplicated in the organized refugee camps; the main difficulty is that the large majority of penniless refugees from the north are quartered everywhere throughout the land with local South Koreans. To get aid to these widely dispersed exiles with a war going on has been next to impossible.

Recently the UNCACK has gradually been permitting private agencies to expand their relief activities in South Korea. There have been missionaries in the field all along doing what relief they could. The War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference have been able to distribute sizable quantities of food, clothing and medicines through the Columban Missionary Fathers and a small group of Maryknoll Sisters in Pusan. The work of the Maryknoll clinic in that overcrowded city has been spectacular; in the course of a year a group of seven nuns, two doctors, three nurses, a pharmacist and an assistant built up a dispensary that was handling over thirty-five thousand patients a month, on occasion as many as two thousand five hundred in a single day.

As a result of this a sizable minority of the Korean people has had tangible evidence of a genuine interest in their well-being on the part of the nations of the free world. For the great majority, however, the dominant feeling is that their nation is a pawn in a titanic duel in which they have no vital interest. Emerging from forty years of ruthless Japanese subjection and exploitation it is only to find their beloved country violently split in two. They ardently aspire to national independence. Their present consists in living at the barest margin of subsistence; their future is obscure, to put it mildly. Morale behind the battle lines is ominously low, as the Korean people contemplate in every direction the havoc resulting from their brave defensive stand.

AS the land where the United Nations decided once and for all to demonstrate that aggression will henceforth be resisted in the world and will bring down retribution upon its perpetrators, Korea is clearly in the world spotlight. What happens there is of particularly

vital concern for the Asiatic peoples outside the Soviet orbit, many of them recently freed from colonial chains, as well. The UN plan, happily, comprises something more substantial than a convincing resort to armed force together with efforts to bind the wounds of some of the civilian war victims. Thorough-going rehabilitation of the devastated areas and national reconstruction are part of it, too.

Until recently the scheme was for the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency to step in and take over from the armed forces six months after the cessation of hostilities. But with the inconclusive truce parleys of Panmunjon continuing for over a year now and living conditions and morale progressively deteriorating behind our battle lines, J. Donald Kingsley, the UN Agent General for Korean Reconstruction has decided that rehabilitation can safely be postponed no longer.

At the moment things are in a transition state, with joint planning commissions of military and civilian representatives intent on constructive projects that can be started now. Private agencies are also being allowed to increase their personnel and to make preparatory surveys. The fact that the NCWC War Relief Services "Adopt-a-Family" program is beginning its distribution of five-dollar food packages from the extraordinary Maryknoll clinic in Pusan is one sign of the way things are opening up. There is the possibility that in the end the rehabilitation of South Korea will supply the most stirring example of joint international action for human well-being—with public and private agencies working side by side—that the world has ever seen. Some two hundred experts and technicians of all sorts from many nations are already at work in South Korea.

What do these public-spirited and apostolic-minded people have to work with? They face one terrific limitation at the start: the division of Korea at above the thirty-eighth parallel. For the agricultural south forms a natural economic complement to the industrial north. When, unsuspecting, the United States agreed to allow the Russians to accept the surrender of all Japanese forces above the thirty-eighth parallel, Korea's goose was cooked. A nation with a four-thousand-year history was cut in two; brother was set against brother; primary producers lost the natural industrial outlets for their raw materials, and vice versa.

There is evidence that the core of the North Korean invaders was actually comprised of troops of the USSR. When the Japanese started moving into Korea a half century ago, a number of Koreans found it unbearable and moved out. Manchuria and Siberia provided the only "living space" available. As plans for Soviet expansion developed between the two world wars, boys of Korean stock were taken from their families' new homes in Soviet Asia for schooling in Moscow and Leningrad. When they matriculated, they landed in the army. Units manned by such Koreans had important

roles in the defense of Leningrad and against the armies of Chiang-kai-Shek; when Japan surrendered, they were shipped to Korea itself. They looked quite the part in North Korean uniforms.

Since there is no foreseeable prospect of the USSR's relinquishing its hold on North Korea, the southern half of the embattled peninsula must be developed independently. That sets limits to what can be accomplished. But reconstruction must begin, and the Koreans themselves—grateful as they are for emergency relief—are eager to earn their own subsistence. They want work to do.

THE problem at the outset, then, is primarily an agricultural one. Recent famines have reflected the chronic pressure on the local food supply between the fall rice harvest and the first barley crops the following July. Yet under the imperialistic Japanese the peninsula used to export one half of its annual rice crop. The Koreans are energetic farmers, but the fertility of their soil has been so depleted by wartime neglect and lack of fertilizer (which they used to procure from the hydro-electric plants in North Korea) that their per acre production is less than half what is achieved in nearby Japan.

As the war raged up and down the Korean peninsula more than four-fifths of its poultry and livestock was destroyed. Here the rebuilding has already begun under UN auspices. In recent weeks over two hundred thousand hatching eggs, some three hundred pigs and one hundred goats have been despatched from Des Moines and San Francisco to the scene for breeding purposes. Many more will follow.

With its many islands and coastal indentations Korea possesses some of the richest fishing waters in the world; it has eleven-thousand miles of coastline. In certain years before the war its annual catch of two-million tons of highly edible fish equalled the total for the whole United States. But when the Japanese abandoned Korea in their hour of defeat, they destroyed all the boats and nets and fishing gear which they were unable to take with them. The fishermen, with their skills, are still around but they have nothing but the most primitive equipment to work with. One of the first things UNKRA did was to send these fishermen one-hundred and sixty tons of nets.

But South Korea cannot get very far simply with more highly productive fields and bigger catches of fish. It must produce its own fertilizers. Local food processing factories and ice plants must also be set up. The textile industry (one of the few sizable manufacturing operations in the southern districts of Korea before the treacherous attack) must be revived to provide needed clothing, bedding and the like. There is a big place for plants producing the special Korean rubber shoe. Ce-

ment plants are a prerequisite to much rebuilding; glass factories must be in operation to replace the windows shattered everywhere.

Neither hydro-electric power nor mining was as highly developed in South Korea as in the north. Yet there are several streams susceptible of harnessing in that fashion. The mountainous regions of the south are believed to be richly endowed with a wide variety of metals, notably tungsten, lead, graphite, molybdenum and other ingredients critical for modern industry. Much scientific prospecting will be required first.

IN any survey of the potentialities of this densely populated but devastated region, a leading place must be given to the Koreans' remarkable personal qualities. Physically they are vigorous and durable. Kee Yong Ham, Kil Yoon Song and Yun Chil Choi, who took the first three places in the grueling Boston marathon in April, 1950, were all Koreans. These hardy people have proved industrious and eager to undertake any sort of useful work. One of the things that most strikes a visitor to South Korea today is the ingenuity which refugees display. From the cans discarded by American GI's they have made all sorts of practical utensils. Industrious peddlers of the products of their own craftsmanship are everywhere.

Another characteristic is the willingness of South Koreans to help each other. The city of Pusan, a peacetime port of half a million which has suffered no destruction to speak of, has swollen with refugees to three times its normal capacity. I am told that it is not uncommon for a family with four rooms to move into a single room in order to give shelter to three other families that are refugees. Spirit like that is something with which to reckon.

One of the great advantages for the work of rehabilitation is the Korean alphabet, which is fifteen centuries old and was suppressed by the Japanese. It is of such simplicity that people who speak Korean are able to learn it in the space of two or three weeks. In view of the fact that the Koreans are so eager to learn that they flock to classes in the open fields, on city streets, or along the mountainsides in all sorts of weather—as most school buildings have been demolished or taken over by the military—the necessary education and training should present no insuperable problem. Among the most important UN educational projects are a training school for the merchant marine, a fisheries school and a demonstration mine to provide instruction in mining and metallurgy. The carrying out of projects such as these will not make South Korea completely self-sustaining but will give that land a good start in that direction.

The thoroughness with which the United Nations plans to undertake the reconstruction of South

Korea offers an inspiring prospect. When the state of hostilities permits, three of the leading UN agencies will undertake six-months' surveys preparatory in each case to instituting five-year plans. They are already recruiting personnel for the purpose from all over the world. UNESCO will prepare the way in education (paper for textbooks is already on the way). The Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization will set up programs in their respective fields.

Alongside these international commissions, which will approach things on a nationwide and institutional basis, will operate the private agencies—for the most part, in Korea, of a religious inspiration. Their personnel, likewise greatly expanded, is to have an important role in the whole two-billion-dollar reconstruction program.

In general the private agencies are the ones who deal with the people themselves more directly. They administer emergency aid to war victims whom the public authorities have failed to reach. Or they provide supplementary aid where it is most urgently needed. In recent months, for example, they have succeeded in setting up a number of work and crafts projects in Korean refugee camps.

The Church World Service (Protestant) expects to start one of the first of the new private projects—for the war victims who are maimed, whom they have selected as a special responsibility. Along the line of self-help they are planning to set up small workshops where amputees will have gainful employment making artificial limbs. The second largest number of lepers found in any nation of the world resides in Korea; Catholic missionaries have been aiding them in leper colonies. And as the country opens up for rehabilitation, priests, Sisters and others will multiply local dispensaries and clinics modeled on the Maryknoll clinic in Pusan.

THUS in cooperation and with frequent consultation, men and women under official UN auspices and in the service of religion will work together for the regeneration of the harassed people of South Korea, where aggression has at last been squarely challenged by a concert of the world's free nations. And if reconstruction of the scope and character now envisaged is carried out, there will no longer be a question in men's minds, East and West, about the wisdom of accepting the aggressor's challenge when we did. The war's victims will have given their lives for a cause that is victorious.

One day an independent and productive South Korea (if not, by some miracle, a united Korea) will arise to serve as a living symbol of democracy and freedom—a restored nation in whose making free nations the world over have actively had a hand. This suggests how much is at stake in the present plans for reconstruction.

The Trend Toward Irenics

SAMUEL J. T. MILLER

IRENICISM has two stages. In its preparatory phase irenicism is essentially a Christian state of mind which allows us to hear out our opponent and which keeps us from being shocked and driven to an intransigent fury by any proposal on his part that his position may have certain merits.

This is an attitude typified by Adrian VI (1522-1523) when he instructed the Nuncio Chieregati who was leaving to attend a German Diet at Nuremberg. "You are also to say that we frankly acknowledge that God permits this persecution [heresy in Germany] of His Church on account of the sins of men, and especially of prelates and clergy. . . . We know well that for many years things deserving of abhorrence have gathered round the Holy See; sacred things have been misused, ordinances transgressed, so that everywhere there has been a change for the worse. . . . To God therefore we must give all the glory, and humble ourselves before Him; each one of us must consider how he has fallen and be more ready to judge himself than to be judged by God in the day of His wrath. We desire to wield our power not as seeking dominion or as means for enriching our kindred, but in order to restore to Christ's bride, the Church, her former beauty, to give help to the oppressed, to uplift men of virtue and learning, above all, to do all that befits a good shepherd and a successor of the blessed Peter."

Irenicism is essentially a type of argumentation or discussion which is best conducted on a scholarly level. Any measure of success it may have demands that the protagonists be learned enough to have abandoned the more vulgar types of controversy, based on willful misunderstanding, ill-considered prejudices and irrational hates.

This casting aside of bias does not, of course, mean the dissemination of false notions concerning dogma. Such false irenicism, referred to by Pius XII in *Humani Generis*, means consciously abandoning an unalterable dogmatic position and granting concessions which arouse suspicion of heresy and which give the appearance of bringing into harmony dogmatic beliefs which are, in the pure light of truth, totally lacking in any fundamental principles of agreement.

In the second phase of irenicism, explication is in-

Mr. Miller has studied the irenical movement both in Europe and the United States.

volved. Here it is the wish of every sincere Catholic irenicist not to fall into error. If he does fall into error, he should at all times be ready to submit to ecclesiastical censure and to renounce a false position without delay. Above all, he should not allow himself, in his enthusiasm, to forget his fundamental duty of charity, that of preserving the unity of the Church; he should not abandon this for a false charity, which suffers innovation in dogma and in the long run is a thing inimical to true charity. He must never forget that a supposed understanding based on a falsification of dogma can lead to nothing save further separation within Christ's Church.

With this caution in mind it is possible to examine what irenicism has meant to certain Europeans in modern times and what it may eventually come to mean to many Americans.

AMONG Roman Catholics, one limited manifestation of the irenical trend has come about through the work of scholarly individuals who seek, not honey with which to coat over Catholic dogma, but a reasonable and Christian investigation of certain problems of fact which can form the bases of discussion between Catholics and ritualistic Protestants. "Ritualistic" is an unhappy term used to distinguish those Protestants who, by a proper attention to historic Christianity, have come to see that the Lutheran, Calvinistic and Anglican movements of the sixteenth century had not only good effects, from a strictly limited point of view, but tragic ones as well—one of the greatest, of course, being the parcelization of Western Christianity.

In this area of scholarly investigation, hope for ultimate agreement with the Roman See can only be held with regard to the Orthodox groups, the Anglo-Catholics and the "High Church" Lutherans who attach great importance to the principle of apostolic succession. As for those other groups who approach the divine ordering of things in the sequence God-believers-Church rather than God-Church-believers there can be no hope of immediate reunion.

In an admirable book called *Divided Christendom* the French Dominican Yves Congar gives the following as the inevitable outcome of discussions with Anglo-Catholics. "A study of the conditions of Catholic communion would quickly lead to the question of the Apostolic See and the papal *potestas*. It is quite plain that only such a study could produce any decisive conclusion to a discussion with Anglicans or with 'Non-Roman Catholicism.'"

Very significant in this connection is the corporate statement of fourteen Anglo-Catholics to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in response to his request for a statement on the possibility of a synthesis between Catholicism and Protestantism. This declaration, in addition to pointing out the weakness and basic intoler-

ance of Liberalism, objects to the Papacy on three grounds: first of all, its framers declare, in the nineteenth century the Roman Church identified itself too closely with the *ancien régime* and thereby weakened its inherent spiritual forces; secondly, at the Council of Trent a defective understanding of theological problems obtained because of the elementary state of historical research and the lack of Greek Patristic learning; and last of all, they say that an objectionable "legalism" characterizes the Roman Church.

Given these objections, the authors of the report hasten to add that the "Papacy itself is not the product of the canonical legal development" to which they object. Moreover, they continue with this admission. "... signs have multiplied in recent years, that whenever it can forget its sectarianism, and give a deliberate lead to all Christendom, outside its own allegiance, on a matter of vital Christian interest, the Papacy can still command the attention and to a large extent secure the following of all Christians, and that it is the only Christian institution which can do so. It is at the head of a full half of Christendom, and that half, moreover, which shows no signs of diminished vitality and coherence. It is at once the strongest single bulwark of the historic tradition of Christian civilization in Europe and a pioneer of the modern Christian social teaching by which it has sought to remedy the desperate sickness from which that tradition now universally suffers. It is also the largest single missionary force in the world mission field of today. Above all, it has never wavered in its adherence to the central Christian truths of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption; for its mighty witness to these, all orthodox Christians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have had cause to be deeply grateful. Whatever the difficulties, amounting in some respects almost to an impossibility, of seeking corporately a direct theological approach to the Papal Communion at the present time, we believe that these indisputable facts have been too largely lost to sight in much recent Anglican thought about Christian unity."

Admittedly the disagreement on the precise nature of the papal power is not the only barrier to reunion between Catholics and Anglicans, but it is one of the major ones, and its solution would certainly represent a mighty advance along the road to unity. The Anglo-Catholic positions outlined above represent a set of opinions for which Catholics can be grateful, and upon which much can be built.

Turning from the Anglicans to the Orthodox, Father Congar lists the following as the major doctrinal differences: (1) the *Filioque* clause; (2) the Roman Primacy; (3) Sacramental doctrine; (4) the Immaculate Conception; (5) Purgatory and the Particular Judgment. In Congar's opinion, the first, third, and fifth can probably be settled in the course of time by

the proper study and elucidation of the problems involved. He suggests, on the other hand, that the second and the fourth constitute formidable points of division, since the Orthodox deny the *locus* of infallibility as being in the Bishop of Rome, and in the same vein they deny the universality of the dogma concerning the Immaculate Conception.

IN brief, then, the situation is this. Between the Orthodox, the Anglo-Catholics and the Catholics there are doctrinal differences. Many of these appear insurmountable. For example, the decision of Leo XIII on Anglican Orders, declared irreformable by the same Pontiff, would mean that if the Anglican clergy did wish reunion with Rome, they would have to submit to "reordination" *sub conditione* and to the Pian Creed as amended by the Vatican Council of 1870. However, in light of the opinions of the Anglo-Catholics just quoted it would seem that such a development is possible, if the reunion negotiations are not hurried and if all Roman Catholics can approach their separated brethren in the generous spirit that characterized the work of Cardinal Mercier at Malines.

Invaluable contributions have been made by the study and work of such men as Father Congar, O.P., the Anglo-Benedictine Dom Gregory Dix, who has done so much for serious students of the matter to rectify the "anamnesis" interpretation of the Holy Eucharist, and Karl Adam, who has done excellent preparatory work in popularizing the notion of irenicism. In addition to these particular men, there are countless others who work in a much broader sense along irenical lines and who pray for the end of schism and heresy. At Saint-Amay, in Belgium, the monks investigate the liturgy and publish the periodical, *Irenikon*, which contains some of the best and most recent information on the progress of irenicism in many parts of the world. In Germany, at the monastery of Maria-Laach, the same type of activity goes on, and those who already have an interest in irenics, or those who wish to begin a study of the subject, may very profitably investigate the periodical which is put out from this monastery, a review called *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*. In America the fruits of European irenicism are being made available more and more frequently through two excellent publications, *Cross Currents* and *Unitas*.

In general, the entire liturgical movement within the Catholic Church on the continent, in addition to having as its over-all aim the progressively more perfect praise of God, has an irenical aspect that is very powerful. The *Missarum Sollemnia* of the German scholar Jungmann, for example, which has been translated into French, has cast off the unhappy drill-book atmosphere of many manuals on rubrics and liturgy and succeeds in harmonizing a cheerful style, the most recent devel-

opments in liturgical investigations, and an impressive and scholarly objectivity. Thanks to Jungmann's suggestions and apostolic zeal, the Supreme Pontiff in 1951 gave permission to select dioceses to institute the new (or better, very old, for it is a return to primitive practice) Midnight Mass of Holy Saturday with its abbreviated but nonetheless splendid and solemn rubrics combined with Baptism and Ordinations. In France the stimulating and highly imaginative book of Perrens, *Sous la Tente de Dieu*, brings into the picture of liturgical reform the possibility of using not only the plastic, architectural, and painting arts to worship Divinity, but the art of the dance, as well.

No longer can it be said of Catholics that their main concern in liturgy is to maintain the so-called "siege state" which sprang from post-Trentine conditions. While preserving the glories of the medieval rites and the sacred truths of the Mass and its auxiliaries, new thoughts are being expressed and new experiments, under controlled conditions, are being carried out. Such developments indicate a titanic vigor in an institution which has been promised the in-breathing of the Holy Spirit until the end of time. Americans may regard the sickly condition of Western European economic and political life with real distress, but the soaring character of European Catholicism, as represented by the best exponents of liturgical and irenic reform, can do nothing but elicit deep admiration from this side of the Atlantic.

WHAT can come of this movement? It is possible that grave dangers lie in it: In his encyclical *Humani Generis* the present Pontiff warned against false "irenics" and false concessions to those outside the Church. Such errors must be avoided, and those who follow after false gods must be reprovved and led back to a proper understanding. However, up to the present it would seem that two of Father Congar's primary conditions for legitimate reform, patience and respect for delays, have been faithfully observed by most irenicists.

It may not be out of order to suggest, however, that too many Christians assume a thing is reprehensible because it is novel. Patience and respect for delays do not mean obscurantism and deliberate rejection of opportunities to learn of new movements which might contribute something of great value.

Avoiding both the extremes of too ready acceptance and a precipitous rejection of all that seems new, Christians should beseech God to bless the efforts of men of good will toward reunion. They should pray that in the fullness of time He will, in His own providential way, point out those irenic paths which may be followed without harm either to the inherent truths of dogma or to the consciences of those engaged in the work.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Freedom and The Union Shop

IF the Republican convention had followed the wishes of the National Association of Manufacturers, it would have called for an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which would outlaw any and every form of the union shop. The Taft-Hartley Act already bans the closed shop, in which a man cannot be employed unless he already belongs to the union. In this case the union acts as an employment agency with a monopoly. But even though they are illegal, quite a few closed shops are still operating. For the sake of peace, employers keep quiet, and few workers have the gumption, or desire, to buck both union and employer before the National Labor Relations Board.

In some industries, such as building construction and those involving the coming and going of ships, where work is casual and men shift frequently from job to job, the closed shop is a good and necessary thing, particularly when it is operated through a rotary hiring hall over which both union and employer have some control. In most industries it is neither good nor necessary, in my opinion. The temptation is far too strong for the union to use its power to funnel the jobs to its own friends and relations, or to such as are able to pay a big fat fee.

But here we are talking about the union shop, which means one in which workers may be hired anywhere but are required to join the union after they are employed.

IN full-page ads throughout the nation (July 5, 1952), the steel companies are telling us: "Demand for Compulsory Union Membership Still Bars Settlement of Steel Strike." Sub-head: "Union leaders have shut down the nation's basic industry in an effort to get compulsory unionism which would give them monopoly control over employees in steel."

I hesitate to write any more about the steel dispute, which has now passed the thirty-day mark in its strike, or open-warfare, stage. But there is no question that this struggle has dramatized basic issues as few industrial altercations have done in our history. First, the question of prices and profits, then government seizure and the nature of private property, and now the union shop.

Actually, there is some question as to whether the

union shop is involved at all in this fight. What the CIO Steelworkers are now asking is about the mildest form of union shop one could devise and still keep the name. It provides that none of the old employees who are non-union shall be required to join. It provides that new employees must join upon employment, but they may resign from the union between the twentieth and thirtieth days of employment. In short, no one is compelled to remain in the union, and strictly speaking, this is not a union shop at all. What it does ask for is an initial push in favor of the union and a requirement that non-union membership be sought by a clearly affirmative, or negative, act by the non-unionist in the form of a registered letter to the union.

According to Al Raskin in the *N. Y. Times* (July 3, 1952), this formula "was accepted by Bethlehem Steel two weeks ago but dropped after it had been vetoed by the rest of the 'Big Six'—United States Steel, Republic, Jones & Laughlin, Inland, and Youngstown Sheet and Tube."

In their statement of July 5, the steel companies wrote: "The companies oppose compulsory union membership because . . . freedom of choice to join or not to join any organization is a basic human American right . . . Our employees will be assured of a better and more effective union if the right of free choice for the employee is preserved . . . We are shedding our blood and spending our treasure in foreign lands for the sake of individual freedom. This freedom at home must be protected from every threat."

Unlike the steel companies, I don't happen to be shedding my blood right this minute, but it seems to me that this statement is a bald-faced lie. It has no meaning for Phil Murray and the Steelworkers because they are not asking for "compulsory union membership." It does have real meaning for the five other members of the Big Six who did something (I shrink from the word "coerced") to Bethlehem Steel to persuade it not to sign with the Steelworkers and put an end to this costly and critical strike. Not to mention what they have done, or threatened to do, to a host of smaller companies which would undoubtedly have signed up by now.

But since Big Steel has raised the question of the union shop, let us meet that question, just as if a real union shop were at issue here. Many honest and intelligent people are concerned about the problem. They feel that the union shop does violate a man's right to work and his freedom not to belong to an organization if he does not choose to join.

WHAT these people overlook is that neither the right to work nor the right not to belong is an absolute right. A miner, for example, doesn't have the right to work without any regard to the safety of his

fellow miners. A man has no right not to belong to the organization that is the nation in which he is born. His right to resist coercion into a military organization in time of a just war is defended by some, but questioned by most.

The key question is: is there a superior right on the part of the group that over-rides a man's right to be free, to do as he wants, to join or not to join? In the case of the union shop I think there is.

I have spent several years working for a local union which is trying to be a "better and more effective union" and do a job for its people against the opposition of some fairly formidable newspaper publishers. I have seen enough to challenge the steel companies' statement that unions will be "better and more effective" if only the free riders can continue to be protected in their right to be carried for nothing on the backs of the men and women who pay their dues.

We are speaking here in particular of new employees, who come into a plant without having contributed anything at all to obtain the scale of wages and the working conditions that exist. Why should they not, in all justice, be asked to share the expense of supporting that organization which has—often through blood, sweat and struggle—won that scale and those conditions?

I do know that a union, and its leaders, can spend so much of their time just getting up the dues, the money, the vulgar money, to pay the bills and keep the organization alive that they have little time or energy or brain-power left over for anything else.

We have all picked up enough child psychology to know about the psychic difficulties of children who suffer from insecurity. The same thing is true of insecure unions. They show all the same symptoms—over-aggressive, over-possessive, unstable, given to tantrums, show-off. The cure is simple: more love, yes, but most of all more money. As Saint Thomas said, "A minimum of this world's goods is necessary to the good life." The union shop is necessary to secure that minimum. It is also necessary to develop that solidity and strength without which a union cannot bargain effectively for its members.

SOME will say, "That's all right, but you still can't justify giving a union the power to throw a man out of his job just because the guys who run the union don't like him." I agree. Labor leaders have abused that power to railroad their opposition out of the union and out of their jobs. One thing that must be said for the Taft-Hartley Act, with all its rotten anti-union gimmicks, is that it stopped this abuse in interstate commerce. It provided that no union may insist that a man be discharged for anything but non-payment of dues or initiation fee.

So that is no problem, except in intrastate commerce, and there it can be cured by law.

But what about this power over the industry enjoyed by a big union with union shop contracts? In their July 5 statement the steel companies said, "Compulsory unionism will give union leaders monopoly power over employment in this basic industry." That, of course, is not the case, and I am really surprised that these companies either lie so shamelessly or word their statements so carelessly. Under a union shop the union has no power over employment, because only after a man has been employed does the question of union power over him arise at all.

Power over the steel industry is not going to be created by unions with union shops. That power already exists. To date it has been the property of Big Steel. What is necessary is that such power, in steel and elsewhere, be divided and balanced, not only between Big Steel and the Steelworkers, but also between Big and Little Steel, and between, or among, the steel companies, the steel union and the public. In short, the need is for an organized system of industrial democracy, such as that proposed by the papal social encyclicals and called in this country the Industry Council Plan.

I am writing this about fifteen thousand feet above the patchwork farms of Nebraska, flying to a union convention to plan ways of winning more union shops and more power in our industry. The industry is pretty much against us, but they have been living with the union shop, and more, in the printing trades for a hundred years, so I doubt if they would ever get together and issue the kind of stupid statement that the steel companies have been getting off at regular intervals. In another hundred years perhaps the steel companies will have outgrown these statements. For the sake of the country, let us hope so.

JOHN C. CORT.

THE SCREEN

NO INDIANS

"HIGH Noon" is one of those superior westerns with adult themes that gain force by being combined with suspenseful, two-fisted drama. Starring Gary Cooper, its sparse and well written screenplay by Carl Foreman has been expertly directed by Fred Zinnemann, who demonstrates an excellent camera technique and uses dialogue and sound as aids to the visuals. The excellent score, which fits the mood perfectly, was composed and directed by Dimitri Tiomkin and actually becomes part of the film; the haunting folk-style "High Noon" ballad (sung at the beginning by unseen Tex Ritter) recurs several times to carry the picture's theme.

The complete story of the film takes place during its ninety-minute running time—a device that adds greatly to the realism prevailing throughout this Stanley Kramer production, with its good sets and fine acting. Gary Cooper gives one of the best performances of his career as Marshal Will Kane. His portrayal is sincere and straightforward, without any of the coy mannerisms that sometimes make Cooper seem like an overgrown boy scout. Its honest solidity makes Kane a symbol of strength.

It is interesting that "High Noon," with all its good film-making and excitement, is able to put over so effectively its message for good citizenship. The arguments and excuses for not fighting that are advanced by the timid townsfolk are tepid along side of Kane's dramatic pleas for assistance in his attack against evil.

"High Noon" wins a place next to "Stage Coach" as a first-rate western; and for its intelligent themes, social significance and high entertainment values, it is outstanding in any category.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

OF NOTE

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

AN address entitled "Some Lessons of Religious Symbolism" by John LaFarge, S.J., delivered at the recent New York exhibition of contemporary French religious art, was reprinted in the May *Liturgical Arts* (7 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.). The following is an excerpt:

In the religious field I do not know if there are any symbols which are universally understood by all mankind without exception. Black, the color of mourning, conveys nothing to the Chinese, for whom mourning is expressed by white. White for us is a token of life and joy, and red is the token of joy and merriment for the Chinese.

Certain symbols, however, are undoubtedly of vast universal appeal. A widespread area of the human race is affected by silence, especially when silence is practised in groups of people; by bodily reverences and humiliations, gestures of embrace, attitudes and symbols of majesty or power, like a throne. Types of headdress and ample robes, the use of fragrance or incense, sacred shrines or holy places, processions, certain uses of sacred space; all these have a very wide appeal. On a visit to Berlin last year I was impressed on seeing the Russian war memorial to the Soviet dead. It utilized ordered ranks of monuments, a shrine—alone, solitary, and mysterious—and other well-known symbolic effects, so that the visitor was, as it were, religiously impressed.

Religion, from its very nature, makes immense use of symbols. The prophets of the Old Testament are rich in symbolic actions and allusions. These are appropriate for voicing the deepest truths that man's own reason can reach, and they are still more appropriate as a means of expressing truths which God has revealed to man, the truths of divine faith. Religion's use of symbols is a sacramental use based upon the idea that the material world has its functions in bodying forth the thought of the spirit. Many religious bodies which have heretofore rejected or greatly restricted the use of symbolism are now anxious to return to it. This is true not only among the Anglicans but among evangelical bodies. . . .

The religious symbol . . . from its nature implies a meaning, a fellowship of faith and devotion and religious experience and a wide dialogue with the entire world. It is a tribute to human intelligence, to human personality, it is a tribute to man's capacity for rising to a knowledge of higher things through the gift of faith, and finally it is a tribute to man's community with all the world.

The religious symbol implies a *dialogue with God*, since it is always in some way something offered or consecrated to Him. Even if it be purely decorative, it is, nevertheless, from its nature an homage to God. Hence it is that the most impressive religious symbols, those upon which the greatest care of art and artists has been lavished, are objects which are actually used in religious worship. The chalice, for instance, and the paten at Mass, the chasuble and other vestments and, of course, the crucifix, or the ikon in the Oriental Christian Church. Thus it is we find merely useful objects transformed by a quite natural instinct of worshippers into symbolic objects. So the vestments, for instance, which were originally merely better or finer clothes for solemn occasions, have received a variety of symbolic interpretations.

I have indulged in this rather elaborate bit of exposition for a very definite purpose. I believe that if we wish to create and design, or to imitate these symbols or even to exhibit them in their proper setting or atmosphere, we ourselves must be able to penetrate in some degree into the sense and the spirit of this language, of this dialogue. I must be able to understand the personality of the people for whom it speaks. I must, therefore, have some concept of the wider community, what really speaks to their minds and hearts, and only thus can I begin to grasp the real capabilities of my own art.

This position is not intended in an anti-intellectual sense. I do not wish in any way to minimize the technical analysis of the art critic or the value

of the connoisseur of historical art, and I emphatically do not take the position that either the artist or the art critic must be *ipso facto* a theologian. Of course, it is a help for them if they are theologians, but I maintain that they must have at least a basic knowledge and appreciation of what the symbols are, what their dignity is, and that the dignity and nature of the symbol must find some echo in their own lives and personalities. In other words, a religious symbol is something that cannot be treated in a purely and wholly objective fashion, just as it would be fatal to treat it as merely subjective.

Such an understanding keeps us from the extremes which so cloud the question of modern religious art. One extreme is that of mere delight, aesthetic, cultural, or sensuous, in the symbol for its own sake, as a mere thing of beauty or of cultural interest. This has led to the commercialization of the symbol with the consequent decay of religious art. Thereby the symbols become sterile and trivial. They are not related to the wider and deeply human symbolic instincts of the human race but are mere conventions. In some cases, it is true, they are hallowed by associations, like a gaudy *santino* card cherished from childhood, but still they are not genuine.

On the other hand, a symbol can become something merely sought for itself, an abstraction from the truth. In that fashion symbolism is sought at the expense of the senses, as a mere intellectual exercise, something esoteric or even absurd. Nobody is edified by a purely algebraic angel.

Our religious symbols, therefore, are *real* if they are seen in all their sublimity and depth and (1) are seen as words spoken to the ultimate Source of all life, beauty, and being; (2) as words spoken to human persons in their fullest dignity; (3) as intelligible works with a universal meaning; and, therefore (4) as appeals to unity, not to separation and division among men. In the present world crisis, certain religious symbols that have been elaborated in cultures very different from ours, such as those of Southeast Asia or of Africa, make a peculiar appeal. . . .

We need great symbols: creative symbols, drawn from the treasury of human experience, tradition, and imagination. In the field of pure worship, Catholic artists and architects are striving to emphasize the restored consciousness of participation in the eucharistic offering that characterizes the liturgical revival of our time: the sense of union with the personal Christ in the Mass along with a vision of the universal import of the Mass. Such developments are a challenge to our creative ability.

The Meaning of Prades

FRANCIS J. BURKLEY

PRADES is a symbol: not of one thing, only, but of several things—so that it is in fact difficult to sort them out and arrange them in one's mind neatly and logically.

By Prades we do not mean, of course, only the quiet little town in the French Pyrennes (where, incidentally, Thomas Merton was born); nor yet the twelfth century Abbaye St. Michel de Cuxa, two kilometers distant—a priceless portion of whose pink marble cloisters has been uprooted from its serene native habitat and transported to New York where it is familiar to thousands as “The Cloisters.”

By Prades we do not mean, either, the Cistercian community whose vigorous Abbot, having spent years in a concentration camp, now fosters the contemplative life, under rather trying and distracting conditions; by Prades we do not even mean the great international music festival which for the past three seasons has brought thousands of ardent devotees to hear supreme performances of Bach, Schubert, Schumann and Brahms.

Rather, we mean a combination of all these things: the seclusion of the town, the dignity of the ancient abbey and the vitality of the new Community. But above all by Prades, as a symbol in this setting, we mean the defiant yet reverent ideals of the man who, for our own day, has put Prades on the map musically and ideologically: Pablo Casals.

FIRST and most obviously, Prades is a symbol of Beauty: whether in the magnificent mountain splendors of its physical background, or in the Mozarabic overtones, unique for France, of its campanile and abbey church (now in the process of reconstruction by the French Government); and, of course, for a fortnight each year Prades, as a symbol of Beauty, takes on a superlative musical glow due, primarily, to the glory of Casals' art, as cellist, conductor and collaborator in a series of chamber music performances which have reached a high perfection.

How shall one find words adequate to describe the master's still peerless interpretations of the Bach solo suites, or the superb ensembles from England to be

Father Burkley, a priest of the archdiocese of New Orleans, recently attended the Prades music festival.

presided over, principally, by Dame Myra Hess; how shall one describe the intricate and exalted loveliness of the Cantata, “Vergnugte Ruh,” delivered by Jennie Tourel with a natural religious fervor and timbre which perhaps no other artist today possesses to a similar degree; how, above all, shall one thank the great Casals for breaking the self-imposed silence of political protest, that the world might hear once more (especially in this, his seventy-fifth birthday season) the haunting cantilena of his art, and remember it always as part of the symbol which he has helped to create at Prades.

But Prades, in itself and because of him, is more than a symbol of Beauty—it is also a symbol of Truth. Perhaps only time will unravel the complexities of what is usually called the Spanish Question; and most of us who are tyros in the realm of political history and controversy, must maintain a prudent silence, no doubt, on this troublesome issue. But all are perhaps permitted to feel, even vicariously, the tragic implications of dictatorship; all are perhaps entitled to question whether end justifies means; all are perhaps allowed to remember that not even the Spanish hierarchy has been in unanimous accord on certain of the more painful, the more important, aspects of a problem which has been by turns bitter, baffling and bloody.

It should no doubt be recorded that Casals himself has completely and openly repudiated any affinity for Communism—his protest has always been against a regime rather than in favor of a false ideology—though inevitably his almost legendary position has been misunderstood by others, and at time, perhaps, even by himself.

One need hardly dwell at any length on Prades as a symbol of Goodness, even in a world which so desperately needs the multiplication of such a symbol. The contemplative spirit at St. Michel de Cuxa insures the validity of this aspect of the transcendental attributes, even where a certain unfortunate atmosphere may prevail in the town (*France Pagan?*), or more pointedly at the festival (where the audience seems to provide a rather remarkable cross-section of Salzburg, Mayfair, Tanglewood and Montmartre).

One may, however, take the liberty of stressing, finally, the facet of Prades which makes it a symbol not only of Beauty, Truth and Goodness, but also of Unity: there may be Communism at Prades (who knows, really)—there is also Communism at St. Michel de Cuxa. There may be a polyglot of beliefs, or disbeliefs, both in town and at the festival; there is also, nevertheless, a spontaneous and for the most part unaffected, if inevitably confused, awareness that we are all members one of another. Catalanian, Castilian, Northerner and Negro, Provincial and Parisian—which seems basically very much in the spirit of a famous and important line from the Divine Office: “Omnes gentes plaudite manibus: jubilate Deo in voce exaltationis.”

The Future of the Republican Party

REPUBLICANISM REAPPRAISED. By Roland N. Stromberg. Public Affairs Press. \$2.

By JACOB K. JAVITS

THE author, an assistant professor of history at Maryland University, is unpartisan, has generally voted Democratic for two decades and remains politically unreconstructed. His book reflects a reasonable objectivity. It is a good book, though stronger on the side of history (which is natural) than on the side of the practical means by which "the revitalization of Republicanism" may be obtained.

That the GOP needs revitalization the author proves convincingly. One surmises that in such case he is a likely Republican convert, for he writes: "The nation will suffer so long as there is no effective alternative to the Democrats. Only a progressive, forward-looking Republicanism can provide such an alternative." I like this book, although it has some serious shortcomings.

The best part of the book is in the professional and expert analysis of the great origins of the Republican party in Lincoln, Seward and Sumner through Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, Elihu Root and the elder Charles Evans Hughes. "The party," he states, "started life in the service of human rights and economic fair play. Especially did its great founders take the national view, standing against the sovereignty of the individual states (a shield for a special interest group)."

The other part of the book's strength is its analysis of the pitfalls into which the Republican party fell: first, in its identification in the popular mind with the owning and managing classes beginning in the McKinley era with the change from a low tariff to a high tariff policy, from traditional advocacy of a strong central government to states rights and laissez faire in economic matters; and second, in its opportunistic post-World War I isolationism, epitomized by the successful fight of the elder Lodge (so differ-

ent from Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and brother Governor John Davis Lodge of Connecticut) against the League of Nations.

"The democratic process," writes Dr. Stromberg, "is served by a rhythm which forces parties to make creative responses to the challenge of defeat. It is now time for the Republican party to make such a response." He is not too sure that it will, however, for he sees signs that the party hopes to come back into power due to the "inevitable trend," the "pendulum-swing." While granting that this may happen, he questions whether, should it occur, it would not in the absence of a coherent program end four years later in another debacle, this time perhaps a "fatal" one.

The three pitfalls which confront the Republican party the author names as "me-too, opportunism and backwardism." So far, so good. The doctrine that the Republican party must have a coherent program, a set of feasible alternatives to deserve a return to power, a power which it can consolidate and utilize in the best interest of the country and the free world, seems to this reviewer irrefutable. But on this question of feasible alternatives the author gives us a rather slim diet.

It is true that in a book of less than one hundred pages it would be almost impossible to outline a coherent program on domestic and foreign affairs for the Republican Party, especially in view of the importance of the excellently developed thesis on the party's liberal, humanitarian and national foundations, which occupies a good deal of the book. But we could have had more than the mere indication of the author's thinking on such a program, which is all that is really given.

On the domestic side, Professor Stromberg's recipe is "realistic national planning," which he compares with the Democratic policy of "a slipshod system of government hand outs." He urges also that the

business community which has confidence in the Republican party can be a strength in helping to formulate such a program. There is much meat in this thesis. In the close economic cooperation between government and business admittedly possible under a Republican administration the economic result can be enthusiasm, production and venture for all. It need not be monopoly and paternalism. Under a Republican administration the establishment of economic goals and means for attaining them could carry over the lessons of democratic government into the economic field.

Regrettably again, in the section on foreign affairs, after a heart-warming indictment of isolationism, the author only recommends "a strain of realism in the G.O.P." as against the "doctrinaire interventionism" and "world saving" of the Democrats. Here too a whole field is indicated but not expressed. There is an enormous potential in international trade stimulated through the development of the underdeveloped areas and the vast increase of their productivity, especially in scarce raw materials. There is also the enormous potential for participation by United States technicians in the development of the free world—with vast opportunities for the men and women so engaged, without in any way encouraging colonialism or an extensive overseas civil service. There is, too, the whole problem of regional organization for security and economic development in areas like the Far East where the Democratic Administration has singularly failed, and the means for establishing and enforcing some kind of world law.

The author almost completely ignores the Eightieth Congress which, after all, was the only national legislative session dominated by the party since 1930. He dwells only briefly on the influence of Wendell Willkie, and he hardly mentions the leadership in foreign affairs furnished, especially after 1944, by the

late Senator Arthur Vandenberg.

Perhaps the purpose of the book is best realized on the first page of the first chapter, in these words: "Frankly, if he [the author] were a politician he would probably join and seek to revitalize the G.O.P., today." The opportunity is certainly there for the young and the able of the country. The author has admirably pointed out that to undertake it and carry it out successfully will be a great service, not only to the Republican party but to our country which is so firmly rooted in the two-party system as to suffer in its foundations if one of the parties lags too far behind the other for too long.

Adolescent Revolt

THE EARLY FROST. By Clare Jaynes. Random House. \$3.

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

LANN SAUNDERS, the teen-age protagonist of this novel, is an awkward duckling whose sole social distinction is membership in the Multiple Parents Club, an organization open only to the children of parents divorced and remarried.

Because of its implied criticism of their parents, the patrons of their exclusive school, the girls are careful to keep the club a secret from their teachers. Sophisticated beyond their years, they exchange gossip about their parents and step-parents at their meetings, making of their own dubious status in their broken homes an elaborate, cynical joke.

Outwardly as case-hardened as her fellows, Lann is, in the novel, just coming to a realization of her family situation. Specifically, she is beginning to understand why she despises her mother.

For this unhappy fact, there are reasons enough. Natalie Pratt Saunders Morland is a self-centered beauty whose interest in her only child evaporated when Lann passed the cute-little-doll stage. Her maternal attentions since have constituted the provision of expensive schools and summer camps to keep Lann as far away from her as possible.

There was one other attention.

When Lann fell self-consciously and unbelievably in love with a swimming instructor at one of the camps, it was only to come upon her mother in his arms one dark night.

This Natalie, this mother, is the focal point of the book. To describe her merely as "spoiled" and vain is to explain her inadequately. It is almost an aid to her credibility to keep in mind the original quality of the term "pride," and to read her as an acute demonstration of a deadly sin.

Jane Mayer and Clara Spiegel, the Chicago matrons who write in tandem as "Clare Jaynes," show their very considerable understanding of such battered families in this, their fourth novel. They know their sources; they know to its bitter limits what rebellion a rejected and miserable child like Lann can feel.

The Early Frost is put together with precision; it is neat, readable, and sometimes genuinely moving. Avoiding the appearance of ax-grinding, it clearly depicts some of the horrors of multiple marriages, from the point of view of the innocents. Who should know them better?

Frontier Catholicism

CATHEDRALS IN THE WILDERNESS. By J. Herman Schauinger. Bruce. \$4.

By THEODORE MAYNARD

MR. SCHAUINGER'S remark about de Maistre, the author of *Du Pape*, that he was "popular but brilliant" casts a good deal of light upon himself. Nobody is going to accuse him of being brilliant, though his dullness is something of a feat in view of the intense interest of the material he is handling. On the whole he may be said to be scholarly, in spite of some rather bad mistakes.

For instance, he has it that Constantine Pise was made a bishop, possibly having vaguely in mind the fact that Pise was appointed chaplain to the United States Senate in 1832. Elsewhere he informs us that Father de Smet's work among the

Western Indians is "well told in the Jesuit *Relations*," overlooking the circumstance that the last of the *Relations* appeared before de Smet was born. Finally, though it is technically correct to give Bruté's name as "Simon William," I do not recall his ever using the "William" in any of the several hundred letters by him that I have read. He signs in a number of ways, as "Bruté," or "Bé" or with an "S" or even an "S.G."—for Simon Gabriel—before his proper name; but the William he dropped. This sort of thing makes one wonder whether Mr. Schauinger has consulted the archives as well as he would like us to believe.

An even worse fault is that, though *Cathedrals in the Wilderness* seems to have been intended as a biography of Benedict Joseph Flaget, the first Bishop of Bardstown, it is deflected into history, or rather is neither one thing nor the other. Instead of keeping his focus on Flaget, Mr. Schauinger tells in a somewhat confused fashion the story of the long period (1792-1850) during which this admirable man worked on the frontier. Everybody is brought in, but no person or event is very distinct.

This, however, is not to say that this book has no value. Mr. Schauinger demonstrates his industry as a gleaner of facts, of facts that are much less known than they ought to be. Therefore those who can inure themselves to plod through *Cathedrals in the Wilderness* will be rewarded. Yet honesty obliges me to say that Mr. Schauinger has largely missed a splendid opportunity.

Life Without Form

INDIAN SUMMER. By Robert Sylvester. Random House. \$3.

By RICHARD HAYES

THE central figure of Mr. Robert Sylvester's fourth novel is a café proprietor, agreeable and prosperous, who, in the dusty reaches of middle life, succumbs to an extramarital affair. The curve of his experience in this is wholly traditional and without novelty: what began in

ease and pleasure and boredom dissolves in guilt, remorse and the acceptance of responsibility. We leave them all—wife, husband, mistress—rigidly circumscribed within the triangle of infidelity; paying each, and unequally, the price of self-indulgence.

The theme, though common, is not without possibilities, to none of which Mr. Sylvester ever seems really alive. He has, indeed, composed a narrative so spiritless and turgid, so inadequately conceived and superficially characterized, that one is at a loss to comprehend the motives which prompted Random House to issue it. Its dullness is mitigated by no acuteness of social perception, that awareness of nuance which gives at least the illusion of significance to the work of, say, someone like Mr. John O'Hara. One cannot, in fact, speak of this novel as *imagined* at all: raw experience seems to have passed wholly undefiled and undefiling through Mr. Sylvester's mind.

To compensate for his literary deficiencies, Mr. Sylvester has trans-

posed to the fictional sphere the "confidential" approach rendered classic by Messrs. Lait and Mortimer. *Indian Summer*, indeed, is a *roman à clef* which is all *clef* and no *roman*. (Café society, one reads in Mr. Danton Walker's column, is "already buzzing" with speculation as to Mr. Sylvester's "originals.") In this scheme, information masquerades as social observation: thus we learn how a bartender may cheat his customers (the ways are manifold), and how one may gauge the financial receipts of a cabaret (by counting the number of garbage pails). The only thing we do not learn is the relation between this sort of thing and the art of fiction.

But Mr. Sylvester's worst enemy is his style. I open the book at random:

A man could do anything he had to do, that was the way to think about it. If you had to do something you just did it, did it and the hell with the cost, did it and never mind who got hurt, did it and meant it and kept on meaning it. That was

the only way to look at things. The trouble with him had been, now that he could look back on it calmly, that for so long he just hadn't had to do anything about it. He had been able to go along without doing anything. . . .

What we have here is quite obviously a profound literary aberration. The drumming insistence on a single idea, the calculated indifference, the total lack of any rhythm or color or sensitivity—these are hallmarks of what might be termed "the new journaliste." Mr. Sylvester is one of its ablest practitioners. He has perfected the art of weaving vast and intricate constructs about a dead fictional center. The restraint, the abstinence from statement which gives Hemingway's prose its spring and its tension, is here but a mask for the impoverished mind and the inadequate heart.

It is altogether possible that yet another distinguished novel might be fashioned out of the theme of betrayal in marriage. (Fitzgerald, with great dazzle and splendor,

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made it a crucial aspect of *Tender is the Night*.) But neither *Indian Summer* nor Mr. Robert Sylvester would seem to merit any serious consideration.

Clearing the Air

PSYCHIATRY AND CATHOLICISM. By James H. VanderVeldt and Robert P. Odenwald. McGraw-Hill. \$5.

By WILLIAM C. BIER

THE authors of this volume—the one a priest, the other a psychiatrist—needed to be men of pioneering spirit to venture amid the tangle of misconception, misunderstanding and prejudice that has so long obscured the relationship between psychiatry and Catholicism, and to separate out of this tangled mass one strand after another until the true pattern of relationship emerges. This book unquestionably represents the most mature and certainly the most systematic attempt made thus far to evaluate modern psychiatry from a

Catholic viewpoint. Archbishop O'Boyle speaks for the authors in his foreword when he says that they "make no pretense of offering the last word on these important, evolving, and controversial topics." Their contribution is precisely that they offer an initial and systematic synthesis of psychiatry and Catholicism.

The book is actually, though not formally, divided into two sections. The first part deals with the Christian concept of man, with the general principles of psychiatry, and with the relationship between the two. The therapeutic methods of psychiatry are distinguished into somatotherapy (procedures applied to the body in an attempt to improve the mind) and psychotherapy (methods applied directly to the mind or psyche.) Among the psychotherapeutic procedures the authors give major consideration to the analytic methods, "now that Freud's ideas have become universally accepted."

In the authors' opinion, three aspects of Freudian psychoanalysis are to be distinguished: first of all,

there is the philosophical foundation with its religious and moral implications; secondly, the psychological concepts, hypotheses, and theories involved in it; and thirdly, the therapeutic value of its methods. In the first of these aspects, psychoanalysis is "at direct variance with the Catholic doctrine." The authors have no difficulty with it under the third aspect, as a method to cure mentally sick people. "They see nothing wrong in using an efficient psychiatric technique even though it has been offered to the world by one who, in his research on man's nature, lost sight of God Who gave him the perspicacity for inventing that technique." The authors feel that it would be just as incongruous to refuse to use an effective safety razor because it was invented by an atheist. The fact that psychoanalysis started as a therapeutic method and only subsequently became a philosophy proves "that the analytical technique can be disconnected from its philosophical superstructure." With respect to the psychological concepts and theories of psycho-

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analysis (the second aspect mentioned above), the authors have some reservations. Some of these concepts are aprioristic derivations from the Freudian philosophy of life and fall with their premises, but others are good scientific hypotheses, and these are to be evaluated by the ordinary criteria of science.

The authors see the ultimate purpose of psychotherapy in psychosynthesis or re-education. In their opinion, the patient needs a new, or better, plan of life for the future, and it is the duty of the therapist to help the patient resynthesize his disorganized mind. It is in this connection that religion has its important role to play in therapy.

As to the frequently asked question, namely, whether a Catholic patient should be treated by a Catholic psychiatrist, the authors consider that this is the desirable and, probably, the ideal situation, but they concede that effective treatment is possible when the psychiatrist has a different, but positive, religion. Treatment is not necessarily precluded, even in the case of a psychiatrist who professes no religion, provided the therapist honestly respects his patient's religious convictions and conscience.

The second portion of the book deals with specific mental disorders. There is in each case a brief description of the disorder, some discussion of its causation and significance, and finally a section on pastoral advice. Some will wish that the earlier portions of these chapters, the material of which can be found in any good psychiatry or abnormal psychology textbook, had been omitted, or at least curtailed, and more space devoted to the therapeutic and pastoral aspects, which are so needed and so little available.

There are a few inaccuracies, as might perhaps be expected in a book of this size and scope. For instance, a man of twenty-four with a mental age of twelve does not have an IQ of 50, and the general section on the IQ is inaccurate and misleading. One might quarrel with some of the authors' classifications, as, for instance, the listing of paranoia as a sub-variety of schizophrenia, and the designation of senile dementia as a

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form of mental deficiency, and one might wonder why segregation is not mentioned in the discussion on the control of feeble-mindedness. These, however, are small points in an extended work such as the present one.

The book has been written for the non-professional reader. Such a reader will find it intelligible, but is likely to think it quite technical in many places. The Catholic reader will undoubtedly have some of his suspicion of psychiatry allayed by a perusal of the book, though he is likely to be surprised by some of its contents, as for instance the authors' estimate of the extent of adolescent masturbation: "Experience and statistics show that most children practice masturbation at least occasionally, if not habitually, during the period of puberty." The non-Catholic reader will perhaps be reassured to find that the Catholic Church is no enemy of psychiatry, and that the authors conceive of the roles of priest and psychiatrist as complementary.

In a book written for so wide a reading public, it is likely that many will find portions which, as far as they personally are concerned, are superfluous, but all will find in the book much valuable and illuminating material. The selected bibliographies at the end of each chapter are for the most part well chosen and should prove valuable, though the extensive foreign language publications will be of little assistance to the average American reader. This is a book for reading, for study, for reference, and (since it does not pretend to be a final word) for discussion.

REVIEWERS

Jacob K. Javits is a Republican-Liberal Representative from New York.

Jean Holzhauer, whose home is in Milwaukee, contributes to the *Davenport Catholic Messenger*.

Theodore Maynard is the well known biographer and historian.

Richard Hayes contributes criticism to several Catholic publications.

Rev. William C. Bier, S.J., is an assistant professor of psychology at Fordham University and the Executive Secretary of the American Catholic Psychological Association.

THE CHRISTIAN IN THE WORLD, VI

"Should life be had without risk and without courage? Should the spiritual life of man know neither doubts nor temptations? Should man be shamefully born, hurriedly shrived, and brought half blind through this world accompanied by armed guards as if at the slightest jar his spirit, like fragile china, would shiver into worthless fragments? . . .

"Historical reason should be one of the main sources of any theory of tolerance. Looking to history, we readily see that intolerance has a legitimate function, since by its means effect is given to community law. But intolerance readily expands its claims until it seeks to compel the human mind to conform to one rigid type, or, hypocritically, to profess a conformity it does not in fact experience. Some limits, if only in the interests of common safety, must be imposed on intolerance.

"History is the source of these limits. It is no longer legitimate to approach the matter of intolerance solely on terms of formal logic. And it is the teaching of historical experience that, however perfect the logical case for intolerance, especially intolerance of religious propaganda, intolerance has been a principal author of the most deep-seated hatreds which have divided man from man and nation from nation. The guaranty of religious freedom which finally gained place in the Constitution of this country was no child of logic. It was derived from historical understanding.

"But the gains made by historical understanding should be no less permanent than those achieved in the natural sciences. It is just as important to civilized life that men should believe in the doctrine of religious freedom as it is that they should believe that the earth is round . . . History is strewn with the social shipwrecks of societies based on the principle of religious intolerance.

"God made man to be free; else men are only animals. Freedom is manhood. The area of human freedom should never be so narrowed as to make the fear of man's force and ostracism the substitute for self-responsibility and the fear of God which are alone the beginnings of all wisdom."

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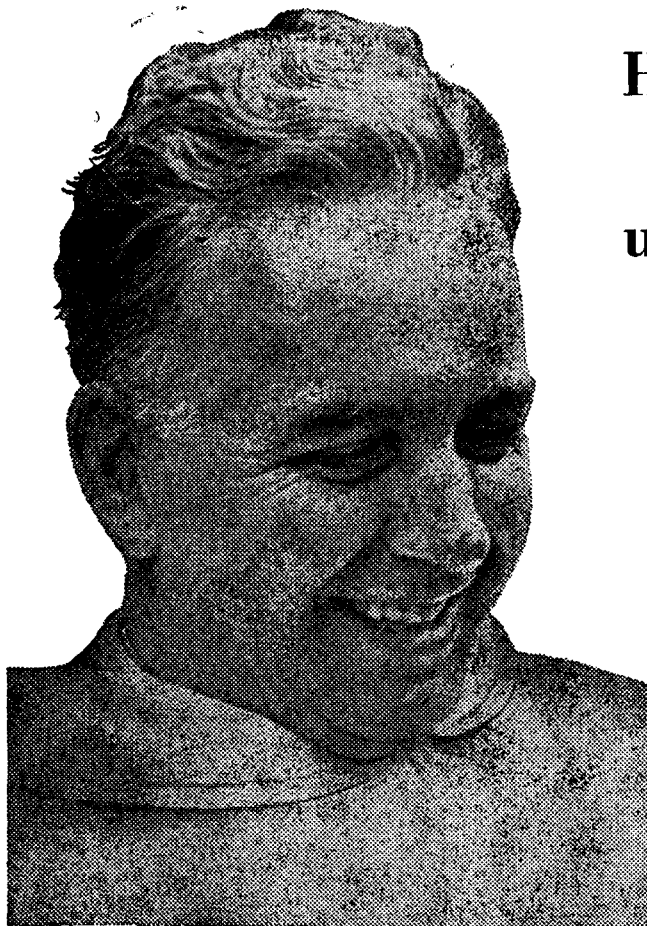
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